/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their 515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds, 824 412 388

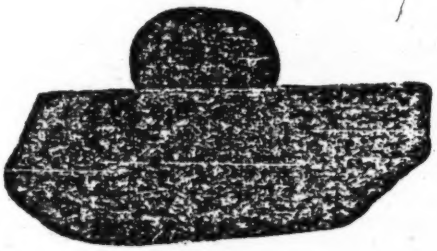

Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

824 /16 cont./
139
[114] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/19 cont./

137 824 [757] in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igũiraro."

AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts [262] and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 [271] BIGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat ● [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses [322] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at [415] all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [362] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[527] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
● [515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/207 cont./

462 562 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
● [515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
[262] without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 593 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

593 586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

593
586

/208 cont./

love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

●515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

843

/209/ Pregnancy and Birth

When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.

482 285 [171] They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/284 cont./

000 The philosopher Foción said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not [293] always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/285 cont./

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821

which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

164

Illnesses and Remedies

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164

The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

SiNordenskiöld E-S.V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1]) In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]). It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

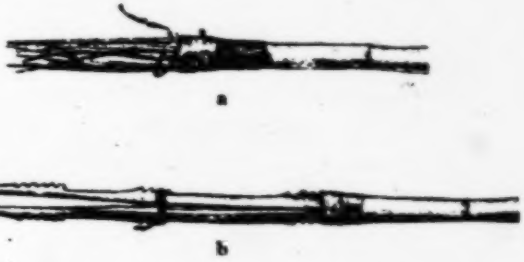

Fig. 13. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 618. 1/4. b = R. M. E. 627. 1/4

[1]) Padre Bernardino de Nino says, P. 251: »Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la cambian por pescado.«

[2]) This is where they got their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

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Chaco SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

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The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the »clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

Ee
[128]

8cNordenskiöld E-S, V(1908-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with 0 and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

Smithsonian Misc. Coll. 82-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF6
Aymara SF5

No

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A
[515]

Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	5
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	0
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	3	3	1
Chama	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	0	3	3	1
Chané (Ityaru)		5	4	3	4
" (Paraguay)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	1
Chiriguano		5	4	3	4
Chorotí	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Guayaki (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guayaki (Pauserna)	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huatyuna	"	4	4	4	1
Huari	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Moje	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	0
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	1	1	1
Yamiaro	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	0
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

C
312

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

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Chané SF8

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Ce
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824

sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

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Ce
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The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
Ce
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[343]
[515]

Pile-burns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and stembeta of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakairi type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

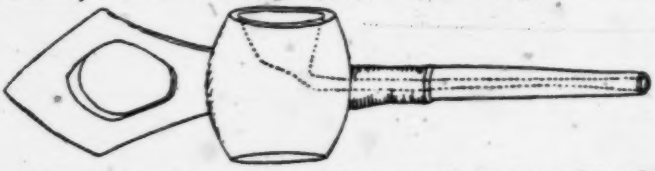

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

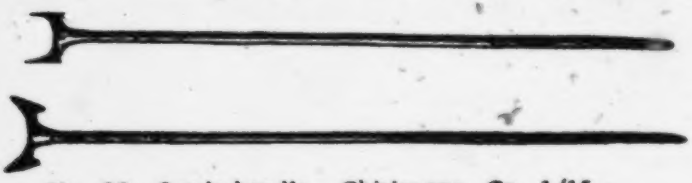

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

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Cleanliness

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

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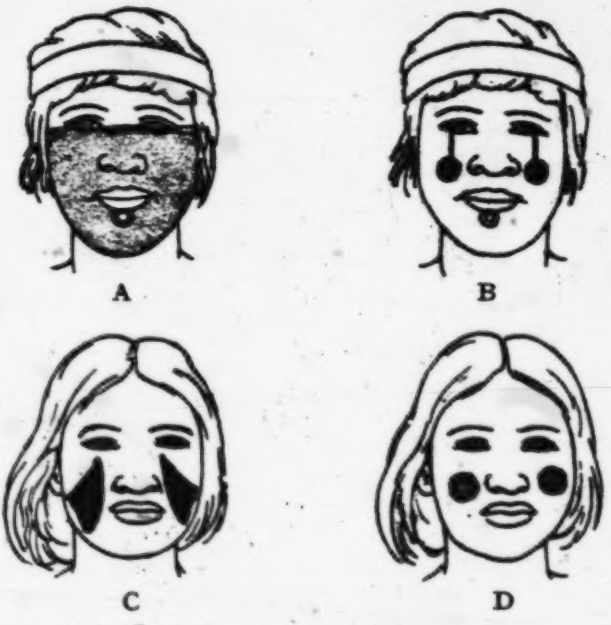

Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

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women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

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/204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Choroti, Ashluslay,

/204 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia.

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyantëra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yŭag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
C [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.
Ee 142 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
● 515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.
Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds
Ee of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ee [754] former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.
C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.
Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

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[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (18).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 156.

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[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

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Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

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89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

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For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

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90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

8: Schmidt--149 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Grinding the Raw Materials

C Ce 252 412 For grinding raw materials, principally for grinding corn, the Chiriguano and Chané use large wooden mortars with long pestles (255). Such a wooden mortar is shown in Figure 15 and

255. Nord. 1, p. 51. Métraux I, p. 365, Fig. 30.

C Ce 412 [171] another one by Nordenskiöld (256). Stone mills are not used by

256. Nord. 1, Fig. 116.

these Indians, although this implement was used, except for the Chaco tribes, by all the tribes whom the Chiriguano had as neighbors after their migration to the west. According to Métraux, a C [515] [388] small stone mill is used only for grinding the seeds of a plant which the Chiriguano use as soap for washing their hair. Such a stone mill is shown in a drawing by Métraux (257).

257. Métraux I, p. 467, Fig. 122.

C 412 171 174 Because the wooden mortar is common even today among the Kainguá /Caingua/, who also belong to the Guaraní linguistic group, and is also mentioned for the ancient Tupinambá /Tupinamba/ of the eastern coast of Brazil, we can assume that the Chiriguano brought this cultural possession from their native land.

C 262 252 412 [171] The fact that mandioca is not important in the economy of these Indians explains why they do not use the wooden grater, the application of which is diffused among so many other Indian tribes of South America who cultivate this nourishing root.

Making Cord and Thread

C Ce 283 The thread that the Chiriguano and Chané make out of wool or cotton is spun by means of the spindle, while that made of caraguata is twisted by hand. We have no information on the way this caraguata thread is twisted.